

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-11 IO-14

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SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 373

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0208

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: CONVERSATION WITH ROMANIAN REP, JULY 19

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN CALL ON US REP, ROMANIAN REP (ANINOIU) ASKED ABOUT DETAILS OF WESTERN POSITION AT CLOSE OF THIRD ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS PRIOR TO RETURNING TO BUCHAREST FOR THE SUMMER RECESS. HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE DETAILS OF THE WESTERN "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA AS PUT FORTH IN THE JULY 10 INFORMAL SESSION. SIGNIFICANTLY, ANINOIU MADE NO MENTION OF POSSIBLE ROMANIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM TALKS. AT END OF TALK, HE INQUIRED WHETHER US REP FELT WORKING GROUPS MIGHT PROVE VALUABLE IN THE FALL.

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END SUMMARY.

2. AT HIS REQUEST ROMANIAN REP ANINOIU ACCOMPANIED BY DEPREP POPESCU CALLED ON US REP AND DEPREP ON JULY 19TH. ANINOIU STATED THAT HE HAD STUDIED WITH GREAT INTEREST US REP'S FINAL PLENARY STATEMENT. HE FELT, HOWEVER, THAT THE STATEMENT SUMMARIZED THE MAIN ISSUES AND HE WISHED TO SOLICIT FURTHER US VIEWS ON THE RESULTS OF THE THIRD ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS.

3. US REP RESPONDED THAT HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNABLE TO PROCEED FURTHER. HE FELT, HOWEVER, AS HIS STATEMENT MADE CLEAR, THAT THE WEST HAD MADE SIGNIFICANT MODIFICATIONS OF ITS POSITIONS WHICH WERE DESIGNED TO MEET REPEATED EASTERN CONCERNS. ALTHOUGH DISAPPOINTED, HE DID NOT CONSIDER THE TALKS DEADLOCKED. US DEPREP REFUTED EASTERN STATEMENTS THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE WESTERN POSITIONS DURING THE ROUND. US REP STATED THE REAL ISSUE WAS WHAT COMMITMENTS THE OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD TAKE DURING PHASE I TO BE IMPLEMENTED IN PHASE II.

4. ANINOIU EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT AN EXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FIRST COULD PROVE A VEHICLE TO MOVE TOWARDS MIDDLE GROUND. HE ASKED WHAT THE WESTERN VIEWS WERE REGARDING THE PROPOSAL BY THE EAST FOR SYMBOLIC FIRST STEP REDUCTION. US REP RESPONDED THAT HE WAS CONCERNED THAT TO ADDRESS ANY QUESTION OTHER THAN THAT OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET WOULD INVOLVE MORE COMPLICATED AREAS SUCH AS WHAT KINDS AND PERCENTAGES OF FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED. HE CONSIDERED IT MORE PRODUCTIVE TO TAKE FIRST ONLY THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED FROM THE OUTSET.

5. ANINOIU STATED IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT UNDER THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL ALL FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED, EVEN IF ONLY SYMBOLICALLY, AND REDUCTIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE DURING 1975. US REP ASKED HOW THIS

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DIFFERED FROM THE ORIGINAL EASTERN PROPOSAL OF NOVEMBER 8TH. ANINOIU RESPONDED THAT IT IN EFFECT INVOLVED NO CHANGES BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE WESTERN MODIFICATIONS HAD CHANGED NOTHING EITHER. HE CONSIDERED THE NEGOTIATIONS NOW FACED THE FOLLOWING PROBLEM. BOTH THE EAST AND THE WEST CLAIMED TO HAVE SHOWN MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY IN OFFERING STEPS TO REACH A MIDDLEGROUND. HIS "EASTERN FRIENDS" ARE CONVINCED THAT WEST

HAS OFFERED NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES BECAUSE THERE IS STILL NO BINDING COMMITMENT FROM OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE.

6. ANINOIU RECALLED THAT PRIOR TO THE THIRD ROUND, US REP HAD BEEN FAIRLY OPTIMISTIC OF THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING SOME AGREEMENT BY THE END OF 1974. WAS THIS STILL HIS OPINION? US REP RESPONDED THAT AGREEMENT BY THE END OF 1974 WAS STILL POSSIBLE IF THE EAST WOULD ACCEPT A FIRST PHASE INVOLVING ONLY US AND SOVIET FORCES.

7. ANINOIU SAID HE WAS UNSURE WHETHER UNDER THE WESTERN PROPOSALS SOVIET AND US FORCES WOULD BE INVOLVED IN ADDITIONAL REDUCTIONS IN THE SECOND PHASE. US REP RESPONDED THE ISSUE HAD NOT YET BEEN DISCUSSED; FOCUS WAS ON RESOLVING ISSUE OF WHAT SHOULD REDUCE AT OUTSET. US DEPREP STATED THAT THE WEST WAS TRYING HARD TO MEET EASTERN CONCERNS REGARDING REDUCTIONS BY WESTERN EUROPEANS AND WAS THEREFORE TRYING TO FOCUS ON THIS ISSUE AT PRESENT. ANINOIU ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE USE OF THE WORD "FOCUS". HE ASKED AGAIN WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE SECOND PHASE. US REP RESPONDED THAT THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE ADDRESSED ONLY IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. ANINOIU, AGAIN REFERRING TO THE FINAL US PLENARY STATEMENT, ALLUDED TO THE ENUMERATED STEPS THE WEST HAD PUT FORWARD TO MEET EASTERN PROPOSALS. HE STATED THAT IN DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER EASTERN COLLEAGUES HE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WERE WILLING TO MAKE SOME REDUCTIONS. HE WAS NOT SURE, HOWEVER, EXACTLY WHAT COMMITMENTS THE WEST HAD IN MIND. US REP RESPONDED BY REPEATING THE ORIGINAL FORMULA AS PUT FORWARD BY AMBASSADOR QUARLES IN INFORMAL SESSION OF JULY 10.

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HE SUMMARIZED THAT IT WAS STILL TOO EARLY TO GO INTO THE EXACT FORM THESE COMMITMENTS WOULD TAKE. US DEPREP STRESSED THAT WHILE EARLIER THE NON-U.S. WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD ONLY BEEN WILLING TO NEGOTIATE THE POSSIBILITY OF REDUCTIONS, THEY WERE NOW WILLING TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO REDUCE IN CONJUNCTION WITH A SATISFACTORY FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT. US REP STRESSED THAT IN ADDITION FOR THE FIRST TIME THE WORD "ALL" HAD BEEN USED. US DEPREP POINTED OUT THAT TECHNICALLY WESTERN NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, LIKE THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION, WERE AT PRESENT ONLY EXCHANGING PROMISES OF FUTURE COMMITMENTS.

8. ANINOIU ASKED IF, REFERRING TO INFORMAL SESSIONS, THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES HAD BEEN DISCUSSED,

WHICH US REP CONFIRMED. HE WAS UNCLEAR AS TO THE
REASONS FOR DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES BY UNIFORM.
US DEP REP POINTED OUT THT IT WAS NECESSARY TO REACH
A DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES BEFORE AGREEING TO DETAILS
OF ANY GROND FORCE REDUCTION. US REP EXPLAINED THAT THE
EASIEST WAY TO DEFINE GROUND FORCES WAS TO LOOK AT THE
UNIFORMS FORCES WEAR, SINCE WITH SOME DISCREPANCIES,
MORE COUNTRIES DIVIDE MILITARY FUNCTIONS BY UNIFORM IN
A SIMILAR MANNER. THE EAST HAD POINTED OUT SOME OF THESE
DISCREPANCIES AND WEST HAS THEREFORE OFFERED TO CONSIDER

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 374

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

REVISING ITS DEFINITIONS TO MEET THESE CRITICISMS.

ANINOIU POINTED OUT THAT THIS CHANGE IN DEFINITION OF

GROUND FORCES COULD HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE DETERMINATION

OF THE COMMON CEILING FIGURE. US DEPREP AGREED THAT THIS WAS THEORETICALLY POSSIBLE BUT THAT IT WOULD DEPEND ON THE NATURE OF THE CHANGES IN THE DEFINITION. ANINOIU APPEARED SATISFIED WITH THIS EXPLANATION, EXPLAINING THAT IN THE RUMANIAN CONTEXT IT WAS A DIFFICULT QUESTION BECAUSE MANY NON-MILITARY FORCES (SUCH AS FIREMEN) WORE ARMY UNIFORMS.

9. US REP ASKED FOR ANINOIU'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE THIRD ROUND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. ANINOIU RESPONDED THAT HIS
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VIEWS WERE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE US REP. THAT IS, HE WAS NEITHER SATISFIED NOR ENTHUSIASTIC BUT AT THE SAME TIME WOULD NOT CONSIDER THE RESULTS NEGATIVE. HE FELT VALUABLE CLARIFICATIONS HAD BEEN MADE. HIS FINAL CONCLUSION WAS THAT THE ROUND WAS ONE IN WHICH NEITHER THE EAST NOR THE WEST HAD IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS BEEN PREPARED TO MOVE ANY FURTHER.

10. US DEPREP ASKED IF ANINOIU CONSIDERED IT POSSIBLE THAT THE NEXT ROUND COULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FIRST. ANINOIU RESPONDED WITH A SMILE THAT THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE IF THE WESTERN POSITION MOVED MORE TOWARDS MIDDLE GROUND, BUT THAT HE PERSONALLY CONSIDERED IT UNLIKELY. HE FELT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD LIKELY CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME. US DEPREP ASKED IF PREVIOUSLY ANINOIU HAD FELT THERE MIGHT HAVE BEEN A CHANCE OF SOLVING THIS PROBLEM AS ANINOIU HAD REPORTEDLY TOLD ALLIES. ANINOIU RESPONDED, THAT ORIGINALLY, HE HAD BEEN OPTIMISTIC ON THIS ISSUE. SUBSEQUENTLY IT HAD LOOKED MORE DIFFICULT. HE NOW FELT, THAT THE CLARIFICATIONS MADE IN THE THIRD ROUND COULD FACILITATE THE WORK OF THE FOURTH ROUND. IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT OTHER POINTS, FOR EXAMPLE, PERCENTAGES OF REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN BY EACH SIDE, WOULD PROVE OF MORE CARDINAL IMPORTANCE THAN THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FIRST AND MIGHT HAVE TO BE RESOLVED FIRST. ANINOIU WAS UNCLEAR WHAT COMMITMENTS THE WEST MIGHT OFFER. HE FELT THE EAST WOULD REQUIRE VERY CONCRETE COMMITMENTS. HE HOPED THAT PERHAPS OTHER FORCES THAN THE US COULD BE INCLUDED FROM THE OUTSET. HE ALSO FELT THAT, AS IMPORTANT AS GROUND FORCES ARE, THERE WERE IMPORTANT DISPARITIES IN OTHER AREAS WHICH SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN REACHING AN AGREEMENT.

11. IN SUMMARIZING, ANINOIU FELT THAT VALUABLE RESULTS IN VIENNA WERE GREATLY DEPENDENT ON OTHER ASPECTS OF DETENTE, SPECIFICALLY IMPROVEMENTS IN US/SOVIET BILATERAL

RELATIONS. HE STATED THAT HE REALIZED THE WEST LINKED
PROGRESS IN VIENNA WITH PROGRESS IN GENEVA. US DEPREP
DENIED THIS. ANINOIU ALSO FELT THAT IMPROVEMENT IN
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EAST/WEST EUROPEAN RELATIONS AND POSITIVE RESULTS
FROM THE OTTAWA DECLARATION COULD INFLUENCE THE VIENNA
NEGOTIATIONS.

12. IN CLOSING, ANINOIU ASKED WHAT PROSPECTS THE US
SAW IN THE NEXT ROUND FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF OPEN-
ENDED WORKING GROUPS. US REP AND DEPREP RESPONDED THAT
WORKING GROUPS COULD PROVE VALUABLE IF NEGOTIATIONS
PROGRESSED SIGNIFICANTLY AND BEGAN TO ADDRESS DETAILED
QUESTIONS OF REDUCTIONS.RESOR

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